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ABSTRACT

The unit invites the student to consider a variety of viewpoints on what the vote means to Americans, challenging him ultimately to see it as a measure of his own political identity and of his association with or alienation from political society. After an introductory section which frames the question by looking at the role of the vote in Soviet Russia, the student is led to investigate the reasons for alienation and non-voting in the United States. A subsequent section surveys the history of the struggles for woman and Negro suffrage, asking why these groups were fighting for the vote. Designed primarily for slower learners at the high school level, the unit should interest junior high students as well. (See SO 000 161 for a listing of related documents.) (Author/SBF)

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TEACHER'S MANUAL

# THE VOTE AS A MEASURE OF PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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SO 000 165

This material has been produced
by the
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## NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

This unit was prepared by the Committee on the Study of History, Amherst College, under contract with the United States Office of Education. It is one of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, and was designed to be used either in series with other units from the Project or independently, in conjunction with other materials. While the units were geared initially for college-preparatory students at the high school level, experiments with them by the Amherst Project suggest the adaptability of many of them, either wholly or in part, for a considerable range of age and ability levels, as well as in a number of different kinds of courses.

The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

Except in one respect, the unit reproduced here is the same as the experimental unit prepared and tried out by the Project. The single exception is the removal of excerpted articles which originally appeared elsewhere and are under copyright. While the Project received special permission from authors and publishers to use these materials in its experimental edition, the original copyright remains in force, and the Project cannot put such materials in the public domain. They have been replaced in the present edition by bracketed summaries, and full bibliographical references have been included in order that the reader may find the material in the original.

This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1967.

In this unit the student is invited to explore a variety of viewpoints that bear on the meaning of the vote. No specific "right" answer is suggested except perhaps a realization that the vote is sometimes more than the simplistic suggested in civics books. It is quite possible that some students may conclude that the vote has no meaning; others that it is terribly meaningful. Such momentary conclusions, however, are not the goal here. What is important, so far as the objectives of this unit are concerned, is that students, in pursuing questions raised by the materials, will learn about themselves and their society. How do I relate to others? What is the role of the vote in defining me and my relationship to society? Does the possession of the vote give me control of my own destiny? This unit, then, is not a mere exercise in citizenship education; it is, rather, a learning experience for citizens.

The teacher's manual attempts to raise some of the key questions and to suggest some techniques which might be used in teaching the unit. The suggestions which follow should in no way be construed as limiting the teacher. Each teacher has his own particular teaching situation and his own particular problems, and each must be the judge of what will work in his own classroom. Although designed to be used by groups of varying ability from junior high to high school seniors, not all of the questions will be fruitful, and not all of the selections will be suitable. A suggested time allotment would be one to two weeks.

## PROLOGUE

The Prologue is designed to bring the student to grips with the question of the meaning of the vote prior to class discussion of the topic. It might be assigned the evening before the unit is begun, and the students could be asked to write essays entitled: "The Meaning of the Vote." These essays could be saved by the teacher, and compared with an essay on the same topic written after the unit has been completed.

The comments in the Prologue were chosen so that several views of the vote would be presented. The class period might be spent discussing the student essays. It is probable that several of the statements will attract adherents, and a discussion of the student views will be interesting to refer back to as the unit unfolds.

## SECTION I

## VOTING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

This section must be used with caution, lest the focus of the entire unit be lost. Above all else, it should not be turned into a discussion of communist theory.

The basic question might be: What is the meaning of the vote in the Soviet Union? The student will almost surely end up criticizing the Soviet system from the point of view of traditional American values. Despite the emphatic Russian claims of the high quality of Soviet democracy (#1, 6), despite the democratic appearance of the Soviet Constitution (#3), despite the great enthusiasm and participation in their elections (#2, 4), most American students will rebel, because as the Soviet Constitution (#3) and the sample Soviet ballot (#5) indicate, the voter has no real alternatives from which to choose. If there is only one name, only one party, then American students will probably say that the vote is unimportant because there is no free choice involved. In other words, it is not "our" brand of democracy.

After the students have thoroughly committed themselves to this position, the teacher might ask how the student can explain the enthusiasm for the vote in the USSR (#4) and the high percentage of participation (#2). Is this only hypocrisy? Is it only a product of Soviet force? Or, perhaps, do the Russian people see meaning in their vote? What possible meaning could they see? Perhaps at this early date some students will be able to see the vote as a factor in Russian national feeling.

The transition to the next section is relatively easy: How valid are Soviet criticisms (#1, 6) of the vote in Western nations? Is the choice here really "free and democratic"?

## SECTION II

## NON-VOTING IN THE UNITED STATES

This section squarely raises the question: Is there meaning in the vote as it exists in the United States? Part A presents the views of the man on the street as he explains his reasons for not participating in the voting process. Part B presents evidence suggesting that a distant and unresponsive goverernment may be a major factor in creating American voter apathy.

Part A is concerned with the phenomenon of political disenchantment in our society. Here the student is confronted with the fact that many Americans care very little about even minimal participation in our government (#1, 2, 3). For these people the vote appears to mean very little.

The basic question here might be: What does this widespread failure to participate in elections say about the meaning of the vote in America? Why do so many people fail to participate? The raw material to deal with these questions is provided in a series of case studies (#4 - 6). Many students will find it easy to empathize with the views expressed. These studies illustrate many of the major reasons for voting which have been isolated by political scientists. Among these are: 1) a feeling of one's own personal insignificance, 2) a belief that a large and distant government does not respond to the person's wishes, 3) a general indifference to one's own environment which is characterized by group alienation and political apathy, 4) total disgust with the policies on the level of honesty of politics, which results in the refusal to participate at all, 5) physical difficulties such as illness, 6) legal and administrative obstacles such as working during the hours the polls are open or insufficient legal residence, and 7) objections to women voting. These were presented to show the student that historically the reasons for a given phenomenon within society change. The 1924 poll (#5) makes frequent mention of objections to women voting; the poll taken in the 1950's (#6) does not even mention it, and it is almost certain that most students at present do not hold strong feelings against women voting.

By asking the student to identify specific reasons for non-voting, class discussion could center upon what is revealed by the case studies. Some fruitful questions which might lead to an analysis of the implications inherent in the widespread failure of Americans to participate in elections are: What do these statements (#4 - 6) say about the people who have them? What do these statements say about American society? What do they say about the sufficiency of our political system? Is it "bad" that people feel this way about the vote? If so, what is "bad" about it? Would your failure to vote substantially hurt the

running of your government? What might your failure to vote indicate regarding your relationship to your society? Would it be serious if the entire society saw the vote as a farce? Why?

Part B examines the basic questions: Is there any real basis for the feeling of alienation in America? If so, what are some of the bases? Do you feel this way? The weight of evidence set forth by political scientists should prevent the student from saying that the apathetic are just a bunch of "soreheads."

The influence of the wealthy (#7), the small group that controls political nominations (#8), and the independent attitude of elected officials (#9) all tend to bear out the often-expressed notion that a small elite runs everything in American society. The suggestions of size (#4) and of the basic inability of elected officials to control the military and the bureaucracy (#6) would indicate that the power of the vote to shape policy is limited. This indictment of the system, something vaguely felt but seldom verbalized by the alienated voter, may appeal to the teen-ager constantly frustrated by parental and school discipline.

## SECTION III

## WHO WANTS THE VOTE?

This section is concerned with two groups, one historical and one current, for whom attaining the vote has seemed a matter of vital importance.

This section may lead the student to several generalizations. 1) Many of the people involved were interested in gaining the vote because it gave them a sense of belonging to our society. 2) When the political power of the vote was discussed, it was generally mentioned in terms of groups, not individuals, voting their interests. 3) When the political power of the vote was discussed, the focus of discussion tended to center upon its influence on local, as opposed to national, conditions. 4) The fact that there were those who strenuously opposed the vote for these groups demonstrates, in a negative sense, the importance of the vote to the opponents as well.

Part A demonstrates quite clearly that women fought long and hard to gain the vote. What meaning did women ascribe to the vote? Almost certainly students will be surprised by the lowly status of women in the early nineteenth century (#1, 2), and intrigued by the personal accounts of the great sacrifices made to gain them the vote (#3, 4, 5). The opposition to women's voting is shown on two levels: the fear of women's potential political power (#9), the belief that giving women the vote would have a deleterious effect upon their femininity and upon society (#8, 10).

Why did men oppose women voting (#8, 9, 10)? Why did women seek the vote (#6, 7)? Did the sacrifices which they made prove to be worth while (#1, 2, 11)? Did gaining the vote enable women to have any greater voice in the affairs of society? Finally how can one explain the very different conclusions of women and alienated voters concerning the meaning of the vote?

Part B, which is concerned with current efforts to obtain civil rights for Negroes, brings the struggle for the vote down to the present and demonstrates that many people today attach great importance to the vote.

The basic question raised here is: What meaning does the Negro involved give to the vote? What sacrifices are being made to gain the vote for the Negro (#8, 11, 12, 13)? Why should gaining the right to vote for the Negro be so important for some white people (#11, 12, 13)? What does the violent opposition of white southerners to Negro voting indicate about the meaning of the vote (#6, ⌐)? Does the Negro seek the vote merely to gain political control (#9 - 13)? Has the Negro merely been duped by the white into playing the meaningless game of civil rights, while the white still holds the political controls (#1 -4, 14, 15)? A final question might be: Who in your opinion has the more accurate view of the meaning of the vote, the voter or the non-voter? Why?

## SECTION IV

## WHY DO PEOPLE VOTE?

Section IV turns to examine the question of why people vote, both in theory and in practice. Part A examines the content of civics education in American schools, inviting the student to analyze what is told to the student about why he should vote. Part B presents statements made by people in public opinion surveys giving their reasons for voting. The people's comments seem to bear little relation to the comments of civics educators, a fact which may have some relationship to the alienation of many adults for the voting process.

Part A asks the question: What meaning and what importance do the civics texts ascribe to the vote (#1-4)? What relation do the views of the educators regarding the vote bear on what has been discussed earlier in the unit? Do the criticisms advanced of our civics educators appear valid to you (#5, 6)?

It is possible that students may object to the platitudes presented in the civics books, emphasizing rights, duties, and the political gains resulting from the vote. The tone is sermonizing, and no explanation is given as to how the individual might translate his single vote into effective action through organization. Are there better ways to teach active voter participation? Is it desirable to encourage greater participation?

Part B presents a series of statements made by people who have chosen to participate in the voting process. These statements illustrate many of the reasons given by political scientists as to why people vote: 1) a belief in one's own political efficacy, 2) a sense of civic obligation, 3) a sense of feeling a part of society, a sense of "connectedness," 4) conformity to the group standards of one's associates, 5) personal attraction to political candidates, 6) concern with issues, and 7) personal identification with one of the political parties. In each of these reasons, the individual sees his act of voting as having meaning because it helps to serve his personal needs.

What relation do the reasons advanced by educators as to why people vote bear to the reasons stated by the people interviewed?

## SECTION V

## WHO SHOULD VOTE AND WHY?

The final section asks the student to examine some current problems regarding the vote. The first selection discusses compulsory voting. If the student has seen the vote as constituting a political link between the individual and his society, the implications of compulsory voting for a free society may bother him. By the same token students may well rebel against encouraging only the intelligent to vote (#4).

Should all be permitted to vote? What effect would a mass denial of voting rights have upon the society itself? What effect would forcing people to vote have? What effect would either of these courses have upon the individuals involved?

As a final exercise, the student could be asked to write another essay on the meaning of the vote.

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STUDENT'S MANUAL

# THE VOTE AS A MEASURE OF PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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SO 000 165

This material has been produced
by the
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## PROLOGUE: AMERICANS COMMENT UPON THE VOTE

1. Two political scientists argue that voting is meaningless.[1]

2. An old American proverb is repeated which states that no matter who one votes for, the important thing is that people vote.[2]

3. Levin and Eden argue that once a candidate gets into office the voters have no control over his behavior.[3]

4. Almond and Verba cite the commonly held opinion that a "good citizen" should pariticipate in the affairs of his community.[4]

5. Webster's dictionary defines the vote as an expression or "wish, choice, (or) opinion."[5]

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[1]Murray B. Levin and Murray Eden, "Political Strategy for the Alienated Voter," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1962), 48.

[2]Old American Proverb.

[3]Murray B. Levin and Murray Eden, "Political Strategy for the Alienated Voter," 48.

[4]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963), 444.

[5]Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, Springfield, Mass., 1943), 1127.

## INTRODUCTION

The United States is so large, the tasks of government so vast and so complicated that obviously it is not practical for all citizens to participate directly in the process of government. Most Americans do not serve in government themselves; rather they choose representatives to serve for them. In theory one of the connecting links between the American citizen and his government is the vote, and it is the right to vote that gives the American control over his government. This unit examines the vote, asking: What is the meaning of the vote? Does it really give the American people control of their government? Does possessing the right to vote benefit the voter? Why do people vote? Should I bother to vote?

The vote is viewed from several different perspectives. It is up to you to determine for yourself your own relation to the vote.

## SECTION I

## VOTING IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Voting in the United States is familiar to all who live here. Very often, indeed, this very familiarilty makes it difficult to comprehend what part the vote actually plays in our society. In a sense, the trees get in the way and we are unable to see the forest.

A better understanding of the system of voting in the United States may be gained by observing the voting system which operates in another country, the Soviet Union, allowing an opportunity for comparing and contrasting.

1. Josef Stalin expressed his opinion on the nature of elections in the Soviet Union:[1]

> [Stalin claims that elections in the Soviet Union are "really free and really democratic, . . . universal, equal, secret, and direct." In contrast, Stalin asserts that in the U.S. the same presumed freedoms are in reality destroyed by "an atmosphere of pressure brought to bear on the electors by the capitalists."]

2. The following figures show the percentage of voters in the USSR who participated in national elections from 1922 to 1962:[2]

> [The compolation of figures shows a rapid rise in the aggregate political participation among Russian voters from 1922 to 1962.]

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[1]Josef Stalin, "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area, Moscow," Pravda, 340 (December 12, 1937) as quoted in The Essentials of Lenin in Two Volumes (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1947), I, 46. (Reprinted by permission of INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS CO., INC. Copyright ©1947.)

[2]Figures compiled from "Report of Central Election Commission for Elections to U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on Results of Elections March 18, 1962," Pravda (March 21, 1962), 1-7, as cited in The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, XIV (April 11, 1962), 3; Leonard Schapiro, The Government and Politics of the Soviet Union (Random House, New York, 1965), 112; Andrei Y. Vyshinskii, The Law of the Soviet State (Hugh W. Babb, tr., The Macmillan Co., New York, 1948), 670.

3. The following Articles in the Soviet Constitution spell out the political rights guaranteed to the Russian people:[3]

> [According to their constitution, Soviet citizens are guaranteed the rights of free speech, press, assembly, and demonstration. Citizens are also guaranteed "the right to unite in public organizations." Concerning elections, the law is one man, one vote, with secret balloting and the right of recall.]

4. An article in a Soviet magazine written expressly for distribution in the United States described an election to the Supreme Soviet:[4]

> [The article explains the election procedures in the Soviet Union. It notes that first, canvassing centers distribute information about the candidates, second meetings are held to nominate a local candidate, and then, third, a committee choses one candidate who will run in the district, and finally, the election is held, and in this case, the only candidate running wins.]

5. The following ballot indicates the form of the typical ballot for most elective offices in the Soviet Union:[5]

> [A typical Soviet ballot shows the name of the candidate and the group that nominated the candidate.]

6. This description of Soviet elections was drawn from a text book used in Russian universities:[6]

> [A textbook used in Russian universities stresses the high percentage of people who vote in Soviet elections, and notes that Soviet democracy is "the authentic sovereignty of the people."]

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[3] Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as Amended by the Seventh Session of the Fifth Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962), 102-103, 110-112.

[4] Yakov Mikhailov, "A Worker Deputy is Elected in Novorossiisk," USSR: Soviet Life Today, 21 (June, 1958), 5-6, 9.

[5] George Barr Carson, Jr., Electoral Practices in the U.S.S.R. (Frederic A. Praeger, New York, 1955), 74. [Footnote omitted.]

[6] Andrei Y. Vyshinskii, The Law of the Soviet State, 724.

## SECTION II

## NON-VOTING IN THE UNITED STATES

Having examined the vote as it exists in the Soviet Union and having drawn some conclusions concerning the meaning of the vote in that country, it is interesting to look at voting patterns in the United States.

### A. A Voting Record

The following selections are designed to show the intensity with which some Americans participate in the voting process. It is interesting to compare the level of interest and degree of participation of Americans with that of people living in other democracies. It is perhaps significant to ask: What causes this pattern of voting in America?

1. The following table shows the percentage of American citizens participating in the national elections from 1920 to 1964:[1]

> [These figures show that only about five percent of the American people were active in the presidential campaign of 1952 and 1956.]

2. These figures, drawn from an opinion poll, indicate popular participation in politics in the presidential years 1952 and 1956:[2]

> [The results of a public opinion poll show that many voters feel that politicians do not represent their interests, and that therefore voting has little real meaning.]

3. In its report, the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation contrasted voter participation in the United States with that in certain other democratic countries:[3]

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[1] Statistical Abstract of the United States, 87th Edition (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1966), 379. [Footnotes omitted.]

[2] Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1960), 91.

[3] Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation (Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963), 8-9.

The United States, leader of the free world, lags behind many other countries in voter participation.

Voter turnout in Italy, for example, has topped 92 percent in each of the last four national elections. All Italian citizens over 21 (other than felons, bankrupts, and the mentally ill) are eligible to vote, with the exception that 25 is the minimum age for voting for Italian senators. Italy's procedure for registration and voting is direct and simple. Municipal and communal officials compile lists of electors, resulting in the automatic registration of nearly all eligible persons. A citizen whose name is inadvertently omitted from the list can easily restore it. Italians vote on Sunday and until Monday noon.

Participation in West Germany's federal elections has almost matched Italy's perfomance, ranging from 78.5 to 87.8 percent during the last 15 years. Like Italy, West Germany utilizes automatic registration and imposes no literacy or property requirements for voting. Elections are held on Sunday.

Participation in Canada's last three general elections has approximated 80 percent, with voting usually on a Monday. Canadian registration law provides that enumerators must visit each dwelling in the country and register every possible voter. The statutory voting age in Canada is 21, although any member of the armed forces on active duty may vote regardless of age.

The Scandinavian countries also enjoy high voter turnout. In every recent national election in Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, participation has been significantly greater than in the United States. Registration procedures in the Scandinavian countries are similar to those in Italy and West Germany, with local government units taking the initiative to enroll every potential voter.

In sum, a citizen of another democracy is more likely to vote than is an American. What accounts for the widespread failure to exercise democracy's most fundamental and precious freedom? Why do so many Americans--in 1960, more than 35 million--not vote on Election Day? . . .

4. The general attitude of some voters in reflected in the following statements made by Massachusetts residents responding to a public opinion poll which was conducted in the early 1960's:[4]

[The results of a public opinion poll show that many voters feel that politicians do not represent their interests, and that therefore voting has little real meaning.]

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[4]Murray B. Levin and Murray Eden, "Political Strategy for the Alienated Voter," fn. 48.

5. The following comments were made by people who were questioned about their voting habits in an opinion survey conducted in Chicago in the 1920's:[5]

> [A study done in 1924 records responses given by citizens to explain why they did not vote. The study notes that many people expressed disillusionment with the value of voting because they felt politicians were all "crooks." Others pointed out that voting was pointless since a vote cast did little to change the realities of their lives. Middle class respondents tended to give excuses for not voting, and indicated that they believed that voting was a duty.]

6. In another opinion survey, taken in the 1950's, various individuals made the following comments on the American political system:[6]

> [Rosenberg's study indicates that many Americans feel that voting is of little value. Voters stress their powerlessness when confronted by the complexities of modern government. Many respondents felt that the government was run by an elite over whom they had little control.]

## B. Are There Reasons?

The lack of interest on the part of American electorate has been widely discussed. The selections which follow indicate some possible reasons for American non-voting.

1. The Declaration of Independence set forth an ideal for democratic governments:[7]

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That, to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the consent of the governed. . . .

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[5]Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, Non-Voting (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1924), 120-121, 130-131, 133, 145, 156, 178, 187.

[6]Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly, 18 (Winter, 1954-1955), 355-358, 362.

[7]The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

2. Abraham Lincoln characterized our government as:[8]

[Lincoln's famous quotation characterized the American government as being run of, by, and for the people.]

3. A modern observer, Geoffrey Gorer, made the following observation on the attitude of Americans towards their government:[9]

[Geoffrey Gorer stresses that most Americans feel alienated from their government with no sense of "joint responsibility or individual participation."]

4. The chart below may help you to explain why Americans seem to have relatively little interest in voting:[10]

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[8]John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works (The Century Co., New York, 1894), II, 439.

[9]Geoffrey Gorer, The American People: A Study in National Character (W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., New York, 1964), 225.

[10]Statistical Abstract, 1960, 5. [Footnotes omitted.]

| Census date | AREA (Sq. Miles) Land Conterminous U.S.[1] | RESIDENT POPULATION Number | Per square mile of land area | Increase over proceding census Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1790 (Aug. 2) | 864,746 | 3,929,214 | 4.5 | X | X |
| 1800 (Aug. 4) | 864,746 | 5,308,483 | 6.1 | 1,379,269 | 35.1 |
| 1810 (Aug. 6) | 1,681,828 | 7,239,881 | 4.3 | 1,931,398 | 36.4 |
| 1820 (Aug. 7) | 1,749,462 | 9,638,020 | 5.5 | 2,398,572 | 33.1 |
| 1830 (June 1) | 1,749,462 | 12,866,020 | 7.4 | 3,277,567 | 33.5 |
| 1840 (June 1) | 1,749,462 | 17,069,453 | 9.8 | 4,203,433 | 32.7 |
| 1850 (June 1) | 2,940,042 | 23,191,876 | 7.9 | 6,122,423 | 35.9 |
| 1860 (June 1) | 2,969,640 | 31,443,321 | 10.6 | 8,251,445 | 35.6 |
| 1870 (June 1) | 2,969,640 | 39,818,449 | 13.4 | 8,375,128 | 26.6 |
| 1880 (June 1) | 2,969,640 | 50,155,783 | 16.9 | 10,337,334 | 26.0 |
| 1890 (June 1) | 2,969,640 | 62,947,714 | 21.2 | 12,791,931 | 25.5 |
| 1900 (June 1) | 2,969,843 | 75,994,575 | 25.6 | 13,046,861 | 20.7 |
| 1910 (Apr. 15) | 2,969,565 | 91,972,266 | 31.0 | 15,977,691 | 21.0 |
| 1920 (Jan. 1) | 2,969,451 | 105,710,620 | 35.6 | 13,738,354 | 14.9 |
| 1930 (Apr. 1) | 2,977,128 | 122,775,046 | 41.2 | 17,064,426 | 16.1 |
| 1940 (Apr. 1) | 2,977,128 | 131,669,275 | 44.2 | 8,894,229 | 7.2 |
| 1950 (Apr. 1) | 2,974,726 | 150,697,361 | 50.7 | 19,028,086 | 14.5 |
| 1960 (Apr. 1) | 2,971,494 | 178,464,236 | 60.1 | 27,766,875 | 18.4 |

[1]Excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

5. Gaetano Mosca, an Italian writing at the turn of the century, commented on the nature of all governments:[11]

> [Mosca stresses that within all societies a sharp division exists between the rulers and the ruled. The rulers, a minority, monopolize all political functions where as the rules, who constitute a vast majority of the people, are controlled in an entirely arbitary fashion by the rulers.]

6. In 1949 an American political scientist, James MacGregor Burns, wrote the following description of American government:[12]

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[11]Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class, Hannah D. Kahn, trs., (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1939), 50. [Footnote omitted.]

[12]James MacGregor Burns, "Our Super-Government: Can We Cope With It," The New York Times Magazine (April 24, 1949), 7, 28, 31. (©1949 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.)

[Burns describes the findings of the Hoover Commission concerning the organization of the Executive Branch of the U.S. government. According to the Commission the bureaucracy of the Executive Branch is vast and its backlog of unfinished business equally vast. But, for Burns, by far the most significant finding of the Commission was that "the Chief Executive does not have full control of his own establishment." The main danger of this situation is that centralized civilian control over the military departments scarcely exists.]

7. In his much discussed book, The Power Elite, the popular critic C. Wright Mills commented upon the role of wealth in American society:[13]

[In an excerpt from his book, The Power Elite, Mills describes the luxurious life-style hand tremendous power of the American elite.]

8. The Making of the President 1960 by Theodore H. White recounted an experience encountered by presidential hopeful Nelson Rockefeller:[14]

[White believes that Richard Nixon received the Republican nomination for president because he was shrewd enough to court the interest of the financially powerful. Rockefeller, on the other hand, was considered too liberal, too independent and too brilliant to receive the support of American business.]

9. In his book Profiles in Courage John F. Kennedy discusses the responsibility of an elected official to those who elected him:[15]

[John Kennedy does not believe that the job of an elected official is to mirror the opinion of his constituents. He feels that through their vote the people have expressed confidence in the judgment of their representative, and it is therefore the duty of the representative to make intelligent decisions regardless of the will of the voters.]

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[13] C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (Oxford University Press, New York, 1956), 92-93. [Footnotes omitted.]

[14] Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960 (Atheneum Publishers, New York, 1961), 73-74.

[15] John F. Kennedy, Profiles in Courage (Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1955), 15-17. (From pp. 15-17 PROFILES IN COURAGE (Inaugural Edition) by John F. Kennedy. Copyright © 1955, 1961 by John F. Kennedy. This material was contributed by Harper and Row, Publishers solely for experimental use in this project. It may not be reproduced, distributed or sold in any other form for any other purpose without the permission of the publisher.)

## SECTION III

## WHO WANTS THE VOTE?

Section III presents another side of the question of the meaning of the vote, turning to look at two groups, women and Negroes, to whom obtaining the vote has seemed of vital importance. As you examine the struggles of these two groups try to determine what meaning these people have ascribed to the vote.

### A. The Fight for Woman Suffrage

For white males, obtaining the vote in the United States was both quick and easy, universal suffrage for this segment of the population having been generally accepted by the middle of the nineteenth century. For women, however, the story was remarkably different.

1. An American judge, David Dudley Field, described the legal status of women in mid-nineteenth century America:[1]

> [Comparing the legal rights of men and women Field notes that in the nineteenth century men were legally superior to women. For example, a man was legally entitled to inherit all the property of his wife if she died without a will, while a wife could inherit only a portion of her husband's property under similar circumstances.]

2. Emily Collins recounted a life in western New York in the 1840's:[2]

> [Emily Collins stresses that laws of the State debarred women from any pursuit "worthy of an intelligent rational mind." She notes that the surpremacy of the husband was universally accepted and was supported by bibilical teachings.]

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[1] David Dudley Field, as quoted in Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony (The Hollenbeck Press, Indianapolis, 1898), I, 185-186.

[2] Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage, eds., History of Woman Suffrage (Charles Mann, Rochester, New York, 1887), I, 88-89.

3. Henry Blackwell, a prominent leader in the movement for women suffrage, described his journeys through Kansas in behalf of the cause:[3]

> [Mr. Blackwell notes that in his speaking tour through Kansas in behalf of women's suffrage he spoke to the "most astonishing (and astonished) audiences."]

4. Raising funds for the campaign for woman suffrage was difficult:[4]

> [The author notes that many women who contributed to the women's suffrage movement did so only with great personal sacrifice.]

5. The cost of gaining the vote for women could not be reckoned only in money:[5]

> [The article notes that great amounts of human energy were expended in the fight for women's rights. Yet only a few dramatic events such as the imprisonment or death of suffragettes ever caught the public attention.]

6. In 1915, Jane Addams, one of the foremost fighters for women's rights, set forth her reasons for seeking the vote:[6]

> [Jane Addams argues that in order for women to properly fulfill their role of wife and mother it is often necessary for them to become politically involved. Thus women living in cities can only obtain adequate welfare services for their children if they put pressure on city officials to guarantee those services.]

7. In 1916 The New Republic printed a letter to the editor:[7]

> [The author does not feel, as do other people, that women's rights are protected by men in states where women can't vote. She points out that social welfare issues of special concern to women are only won as a result of the political power that comes with the vote.]

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[3] Ibid., II, 235.

[4] Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, II, 889-890.

[5] New York Evening Post, as quoted in "American Women in the Long Fight for the Vote," The Literary Digest, LXVI (September 4, 1920), 54.

[6] Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote," Frances M. Bjorkman and Annie G. Porritt, eds., Woman Suffrage: History, Argument and Results (National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1915), 131-133, 149-150.

[7] Maud Nathan, "Carranza for Antis," The New Republic, VIII (September 30, 1916), 224.

8. A wide variety of reasons were advanced in opposition to woman suffrage. In 1887 Senator Vest of Missouri claimed that giving women the vote:[8]

> [Senator Vest feels that if women are given the right to vote the home will become a political forum and women will be "unsexed."]

9. The following letter, distributed by the wholesale liquor firms of San Francisco, was sent to saloon keepers, hotel proprietors, druggists, and grocers throughout California:[9]

> [The letter urges businessmen to vote against the Sixth Amendment because this Amendment is not in their interest.]

10. In 1919 the Men's Patriotic Association of Pittsburg issued a circular on woman suffrage:[10]

> [The association stresses that women should not be given the right to vote for it will undermine the superior position of the male.]

11. Writing some eight years after the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment, Frank Kent commented on the significance of women having received the vote:[11]

> [Kent notes that the net effect of the Sixth Amendment has been to give married men two votes instead of one. He stresses that women can rarely be politically independent until they are economically independent of men. Furthermore, according to Kent, most women are burdened by time consuming household duties, and feels that her husband's political judgment is more acute than her's and therefore she follows his lead.]

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[8]Article from the New York Evening Post as quoted in "American Women in the Long Fight for the Vote," 54.

[9]Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, II, 886.

[10]Circular of The Men's Patriotic Association, as quoted in The New Republic, XXI (February 11, 1920), 319.

[11]Frank R. Kent, Political Behavior: The Heretofore Unwritten Laws, Customs and Principles of Politics as Practised in the United States (William Morrow and Company, New York, 1928), 286, 288. (COPYRIGHT 1928 BY WILLIAM MORROW & COMPANY.)

## B. Negroes Seek the Vote

During the 1960's a vigorous campaign has been waged to obtain the vote for Negroes.

1. The Fifteenth Amendment was adopted on March 30, 1870:[12]

> Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
>
> Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

2. The Fifteenth Amendment has been widely interpreted by different people at varying times. In 1959 The New Republic commented on the manner in which it was interpreted by officials in the state of Louisiana:[13]

> [An article in The New Republic describes how Senator Rainach of Louisiana was working to have all the state's Negroes debarred from the voting list. By 1956 the number of Negroes registered in the state had slowly risen to 15.3 percent of the registered voters. To counteract this trend, Senator Rainach and his legislative committee disqualified many voters by requiring a "reasonable" interpretation of the constitution. This allowed the committee to eliminate any voter considered undesirable.]

3. The Mississippi Constitution requires a literacy test of all voters, the following section of the state constitution being frequently used for this purpose:[14]

> [The State Constitution of Mississippi declares that property should be taxed at its true value under uniform and general laws. The law notes that the corporate property may be evaluated and assessed according to different standards.]

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[12] Constitution of the United States.

[13] "Literacy Louisiana Style," The New Republic, 140 (March 9, 1959), 8-9.

[14] Gerald M. Stern, "Judge William Harold Cox and The Right to Vote in Clarke County, Mississippi," as quoted in Leon Friedman, ed., Southern Justice (Random House, New York, 1963), 175.

4. Samuel Owens, a Negro, wrote the following interpretation of Section 112 on June 1, 1961, and was asked to return later on the grounds that it was necessary to review his essay:[15]

> [Samuel Owens wrote an accurate and comprehensive interpretation of the taxation section of the Mississippi constitution.]

5. The following interpretations of Section 112 written by Willard Roberts and Earnest Harold Turner were accepted immediately:[16]

> [Two white citizens' interpretations of the taxation section of the constitution are marred by misspellings and incomplete understanding of the law.]

6. In November, 1963, an article entitled "A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind" appeared in The New York Times Magazine:[17]

> [An eighteen year old boy stresses his belief that Negroes are inherently inferior, and should only be allowed to vote after rigorously proving their qualification. The boy does not fear that Negroes would revenge themselves on whites if they used their voting power to gain control of city governments, but he feels that such cities would be ineptly run. Finally, he expresses fear that the traditional Southern social system will be distroyed if the position of blacks in changed. The boy declares his intention to "protect the health, morals, and general welfare" of white Southerners.]

7. The New York Times reported the following incident under the headline "Sheriff Harasses Negroes at Voting Rally in Georgia":[18]

> [The article relates an incident that occurred in Georgia during a voter registration drive. The County Sheriff entered a voting registration rally attended by local Blacks and a few outside whites. The Sheriff harassed the Blacks and warned that if these "secret" meetings continued he would not be able to control the white violence that would result.]

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[15] Ibid., 183.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Margaret Long, "A Southern Teen-Ager Speaks His Mind," The New York Times Magazine (November 10, 1963), 15, 114-116. (© 1963 by The New York Times Co. Reprinted by permission.)

[18] The New York Times, July 27, 1962, 1, 9. © 1962 by The New York Times Co. Reprinted by permission.)

8. In his book The Summer That Didn't End, Len Holt related the following episode:[19]

> [McLaurin states that while a group of black SNCC members were driving to a conference in Georgia they were stopped by white policemen, arrested on a trumped up traffic violation, beaten and finally fined and released.]

9. In their drive to encourage voter registration, civil rights workers attempted to point out what the vote could mean to southern Negroes:[20]

> [Sutherland explains one technique used during voter registration drives in the South: volunteers would go door to door asking Negroes if they were registered voters and explaining to the people the importance of voting. People were directly challenged to register and to vote.]

10. In an article appearing in The New York Times Magazine in 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr. emphasized the importance of the vote:[21]

> [Martin Luther King believes that the disenfranchisement of the Negro has had detrimental effects on the welfare of both black and white Americans. He stresses that the denial of the right to vote has led Negroes to migrate in mass to already over crowded Northern ghettoes. King also notes that "white only" ballot boxes have helped keep power in thehands of reactionary politicians. He feels that the enfranchisement of Negroes will have positive psychological effects on the self image of Blacks, and will also benefit the social welfare of all Americans since Negroes will vote for "Medicaid, housing, schools and jobs requited by all men of any color."]

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[19]Len Holt, The Summer That Didn't End (William Morrow and Co., New York, 1965), 257-259. (Copyright c 1965 by Len Holt. Permission to reprint was granted by William Morrow and Company, Inc.)

[20]Elizabeth Sutherland, ed., Letters from Mississippi(McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1965), 70. (From Letters from Mississippi by Elizabeth Sutherland. Copyright 1965 by McGraw Hill Book Co. Used by permission of McGraw Hill Book Co.)

[21]Martin Luther King, Jr., "Civil Right No. 1: The Right to Vote," The New York Times Magazine, March 14, 1965, 26. (Copyright © 1965 by Martin Luther King, Jr. Reprinted by permission by Joan Daves.)

11. The following letters written by civil rights workers involved in a 1964 voter registration drive in Mississippi expressed their feelings about the work which they were doing:[22]

> [While the letters express the many fears of the civil rights workers (some volunteers had recently been killed) they also indicate the dedication and excitement that these people felt helping in achieving freedom for Southern Negroes.]

12. In an article entitled "The Impact of Negro Voters on Southern Politics," The Reporter magazine analyzed the results of the 1966 elections:[23]

> [The author notes that Jim Clark, the Sheriff in Selma who wore a "Never" button on his chest and used electric cattle prods to disperse Negro demonstrators, was voted out of office by newly registered Negro voters. The author stresses that the Negro vote has also had a more subtle influence. Racist politicians, aware of the power of the Negro voters, speak more softly when taking public stands on matters of race. The author points out that the tone of politics in many Southern states has been changed because of the vote of the more liberal and democratic blacks.]

13. Not all Negroes have reacted in the same manner to promises of greater political power. In the following article Elijah Muhammed, leader of the Black Muslims, expressed his view on the future of Negro political power in America:[24]

> [Elijah Muhammed feels that American Negroes can never be free until they separate from whites. According to Mr. Muhammed, court rulings granting Negroes the right to vote will never bring real freedom.]

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[22]Elizabeth Sutherland, ed., Letters from Mississippi, 9, 27, 77.

[23]Reese Cleghorn and Pat Watters, "The Impact of Negro Votes on Southern Politics," The Reporter, 36.(January 26, 1967), 24, 31. (Copyright 1967 by Reporter Magazine Company.)

[24]Elijah Muhammed, "The True Way to Freedom," Muhammed Speaks, December 18, 1964, 1, 3.

## SECTION IV

## WHY DO PEOPLE VOTE?

In sense the previous sections have examined the views of two extemes concerning the meaning of the vote in America, the non-voters and those who struggle for the right to cast a ballot. This section approaches the meaning of the vote from another vantage point, asking the question of those who are concerned with citizenship education and of the voting public at large.

### A. Lessons From Civics Books

Civics books which are used in high schools and materials published by groups concerned with citizenship education provide several reasons why people should vote.

1. From Facing Life's Problems by Lavone Hanna:[1]

   [The author believes that voting is both a right and a duty. She notes that intelligent voting insures both the freedom of the citizens and the health of society]

2. From Your Life As A Citizen by Harriet Fuller Smith:[2]

   [The author admonishes Americans not to take for granted their rights to freedom of speech and free elections. She warns that to keep our right to self government it is mandatory that we "put those rights into practice in our daily lives."]

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[1]Lavone A. Hanna, Facing Life's Problems (Rand McNally and Company, New York, 1955), 446.

[2]Harriet Fuller Smith, Your Life As A Citizen (Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1961), 110-111. (Used with permission of Ginn and Company from YOUR LIFE AS A CITIZEN, 1967 copyright by Harriet Fuller Smith (with Ernest W. Tiegs and Fay Adams).)

3. From Civics by Jack Allen and Clarence Stegmeir:[3]

[In this selection from Civics Mr. Bartlett and his daughter are discussing the duties of a citizen. They both agree that it is necessary for a citizen to keep "the experiment in self-government" working. Mr. Bartlett stresses that it is the duty of the citizen to support law and order and to vote in elections.]

4. From a pamphlet published by The American Heritage Foundation:[4]

[The authors contend that very often a single vote has tremendous impact. They give examples of elections for the president, for governors, senators and congressmen where the candidate won by a tiny percentage of the total votes cast.]

5. A political scientist, Murray Levin, comments on civics education:[5]

[Levin stresses that many citizens become alienated from the political system when they realize that the value of voting so arduously inculcated during their years in public schools has no real bearing on the governance of communities. According to Levin, voters quickly learn "that the outcome of elections makes no difference, the community is governed by a self interested minority, and the will of the people is ineffectual."]

6. A respondent in a public opinion poll comments on civics education:[6]

[The respondent indicates awareness of the discrepency between the ideal political model taught in schools and the reality of the political system.]

## B. The People Speak

Another way in which we may gain insight into why people vote is to simply ask them. Political scientists have thus conducted a number of public

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[3]Jack Allen and Clarence Stegmeir, Civics (American Book Company, New York, 1956), 129.

[4]Your Vote Could Be The One That Counts (The American Heritage Foundation, New York, 1964)

[5]Murray B. Levin, The Compleat Politician: Political Strategy in Massachusetts (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., New York, 1962), 155-156. [Footnotes omitted.] (From THE COMPLEAT POLITICIAN by Murray B. Levin, Copyright © 1962 by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

[6]Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," 360.

opinion surveys asking this question. The following selections are representative of some of the major reasons advanced for voting during the course of the surveys. It is interesting to compare these answers with those advanced by the civics texts or citizenship education groups.

1. De Angelo, a factory worker is interviewed in a voter study in the 1950's, is a resident of a large eastern city. He never goes to political meetings, never contributes to political activities, and rarely talks politics. He made the following statement concerning the vote:[7]

> [De Angelo feels voting is good because he sees the election process as a contest between two people, both of whom are trying "to serve the people the best way they know how."]

2. Costa, an assembly line worker, commented on our society:[8]

> [Costa feels there is power in the vote because the little man can unite and therefore exert influence.]

3. Johnson, a mechanic, had the following to say about his vote:[9]

> [Johnson feels that politicians in general are corrupt but stresses that, as individuals, they are not influential enough to cause detriment to the country.]

4. This comment concerning the vote was made in the 1950's by a housewife:[10]

> [This housewife feels people should vote, since if each individual contributed "it would add up to something big."]

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[7]Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does (The Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1962), 166. (Reprinted with permission of the Macmillan Company from POLITICAL IDEOLOGY by Robert E. Lane © The Free Press of Glencoe, a Corporation 1959)

[8]Ibid., 167.

[9]Ibid., 169.

[10]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, 173.

5. A disabled worker participating in the same survey added the following comments:[11]

> [This man feels people should vote since "outside of voting, there isn't too much the average fellow can do."]

6. Following are a few brief profiles of voter attitudes prepared by Angus Campbell, director of an epic study of the 1956 Presidential election:[12]

> [The profiles show (1) that people vote for candidates they like personally, (2) people are often ill informed about politics and vote anyway, and (3) dissonance will sometimes cause a person not to vote at all.

7. Miss E. expressed her beliefs regarding the place of politics in her life:[13]

> [Miss E. feels that because she comes from a family that is extremely interested in politics, she herself is well informed about and interested in politics. She has high trust in the political system, is patriotic, feels that politicians are responsive to citizens' needs, and that, in special cases, petitioning to other redress methods are politically potent.]

8. An older man expressed the following views during an interview:[14]

> [Mr. C. feels that in a free country it is a citizens duty to vote, to support the country "morally and financially" and in instances where a program is considered wrong, to "fight against it."]

9. A Negro woman, Mrs. P., spoke her mind on voting:[15]

> [Mrs. P., an elderly widow, has recently completed elementary school, and ifinds that her increased education has stimulated her interest in politics. She reads newspapers, listens to political broadcasts on the radio, and finds "all thinking people" are interested in politics.]

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[11] Ibid., 174.

[12] Angus Campbell, et al., The American Voter, 22, 109-110.

[13] Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, 441-442.

[14] Ibid., 447-449.

[15] Ibid., 447-449.

## SECTION V

## WHO SHOULD VOTE AND WHY

This final section provides some contrasting views concerning the vote, who should vote, and why.

1. A political scientist, Charles Merriam, discusses one approach to the problem of non-voting:[1]

> [Merriam proposes that, to increase political participation, the United States should consider the idea of instituting a legally compulsory vote with fines or public reprimand as a punishment for non-voting.]

2. In an article entitled "Should People Be Dragged to the Polls" the question of who should vote is approached from another point of view:[2]

> [The authors feel that it is wrong for political candidates to solicit the vote of the habitual non-voter since studies have shown that these people are lacking in information and incapable of making the "sophisticated, judicious" judgment required in free elections.]

3. Stokely Carmichael, a Negro leader, analyzes the question of who is qualified to vote and to wield power in the United States:[3]

> [Stokely Carmichael challenges the reality of the American ideal which asserts that upward mobility is available to all who desire it. He notes that the traditional means to success in the United States are money, influence and education. Carmichael points out that even education is not available to the poor since an adequate number of high schools doesn't even exist.

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[1] Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell, Non-Voting, 241-242. [Footnotes omitted.]

[2] Robert Rienow and Leona Train Rienow, "Should People Be Dragged to the Polls?", Saturday Review, XLIII (July 30, 1960), 8-9.

[3] Stokely Carmichael, "Who is Qualified?", The New Republic, 154 (January 8, 1966), 20-22. (Reprinted by permission of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.)

Carmichael stresses the absurdity of the American myth that only people with money, influence and education are "qualified" for active political participation. He points out how uneducated "unqualified" Blacks worked with SNCC to successfully establish freedom parties. Carmichael feels that the hope of the United States lies in the Black masses who have begun to exercise political power.]

4. An article entitled "Who Should Vote" appeared in American Opinion, a magazine published by the John Birch Society:[4]

[The author disagrees strenuously with those who preach the doctrine of "one man, one vote." He stresses that not everyone is qualified to vote, and by equalizing the vote of the informed and uninformed, the rich and the poor "the whole process becomes a meaningless ritual." He feels that nobody should be encouraged to vote, for natural selection will lead only those who are qualified to cast their ballot. The author feels that democracy in the U.S. is degenerating since the system of majority rule has been instituted and people who"are ignorant of the intricacies of the American brand of freedom" have been allowed to vote.][5,6]

5. Interviewed in a public opinion survey, a man named Kuchinsky stated his views on the vote and the nature of government in the United States:[7]

[The author describes a subject who scored in the bottom third in a political information test. The subject feels that not everyone should be allowed to vote. He notes that he would like to see the president elected for a life time. The subject expresses a great deal of trust in elected politicians.]

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[4]Jim Lucier, "Who Should Vote," American Opinion, VIII (June, 1965), 17-18. (Reprint is an excerpt from the original article.)

[5]The average vote cast for U. S. Representative in the years 1942-62, was 46.2 percent of those of voting age. Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1964.

[6]See their contribution to The Elite and the Electorate, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1963: "I have no hesitation in stating my deep convictions that the legislatures of America, local, state and national, are presently the greatest menace to the successful operation of the democratic process," says Senator Clark.

[7]Robert E. Lane, Political Ideology, 99, 103.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Often the language of the political scientist proves difficult for the "uninitiated." There are several books, however, which might prove both interesting and rewarding.

The meaning of the vote is understandably a popular subject for American political analysts. Political Ideology (1962) by Robert E. Lane examines American political views by means of case studies. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (1963) uses case studies to compare the political attitudes of Americans with those of citizens of other nations. The question of political involvement is discussed by Lester W. Milbrath in Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (1966). Incidentally, the bibliography contained in this book is excellent, and will help the student who is interested to find valuable reference to further reading.

The question of voter disinterest has received much attention. Murray Levin's books, The Alienated Voter (1966) and The Compleat Politician: Political Participation in Massachusetts* (1962) are both detailed and interesting studies of the phenomenon of voter alienation. A short, interesting article on this topic is "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," by Morris Rosenberg in Public Opinion Quarterly, 18 (Winter, 1954-1955).

Studies of those who have fought for the vote are fascinating. Students may especially enjoy the personal accounts of people involved in recent voter drives in the South: Elizabeth Sutherland, ed., Letters from Mississippi (1965), and Len Holt, The Summer That Didn't End (1965). The women's suffrage movement

is well summarized in Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (1959).

A quick reference to the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature will turn up a host of interesting current articles on who should be allowed to vote, the encroaching powers of government, as well as the other topics touched upon in this unit.